CANADA'S INDIAN PROBLEMS[1]

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[With 4 plates]

If you study a physiographic map of Canada, or, better still, if you travel over the Dominion in an airplane, you will find yourself irresistibly compelled to block off the country into four regions, viz, Canada east of the Great Lakes, the prairies, the Pacific slope, and the far north. Even then you will not be satisfied, but will begin to subdivide these four regions, to distinguish in eastern Canada, for example, between the fertile lowlands in southern Ontario along with the valley of the St. Lawrence, and the rocky uplands, splattered with innumerable lakes and rivers, that comprise the largest part of the two provinces, Quebec and Ontario. Each region, each subdivision of a region, differs from the rest in climate, in vegetation and in fauna; and since the less civilized man is, the more deeply he is influenced by his physical environment, so our Canadian Indians, when they first came into contact with Europeans, were likewise separable into a number of divisions—divisions that corresponded more or less with the geographical ones, but derived from differences in the mode of life, social organization and religious beliefs. It was due to these differences, in no small measure, that our Indians responded so variously to European contact, and that they vary so greatly today in their adaptation to European civilization.

Europeans first established a foothold in the eastern part of Canada, where they encountered two types of Indians, nonagricultural, migratory Algonkian tribes of the Maritime Provinces and of the upland areas of Quebec and Ontario, and corn-raising, semisedentary Iroquoian tribes of southern Ontario and along the banks of the St. Lawrence. These Iroquoians were themselves comparatively recent immigrants into Canada. A few centuries before they had lived to the south, either in Pennsylvania or within the basin of the Ohio River, where from neighbors still farther south they had learned to cultivate corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. But during the 300 or 400 years that had elapsed between their irruption into Ontario and Jacques

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Cartier's voyage up the St. Lawrence River in 1535, they had struck an adjustment, as it were, with the nonagricultural Algonkians who bordered them west, north, and east, an adjustment not unlike that between the nomadic desert dwellers of Arabia and the settled villagers on the fringe of the deserts. The Algonkians, that is to say, hunted and trapped along the lakes and rivers, transporting their birchbark wigwams on toboggans during the winter months and in birchbark canoes during the summer, roasting their meat and fish or cooking it in portable birchbark kettles, but, generally speaking, keeping to themselves and avoiding the Iroquoians of the lowlands, though they did occasionally exchange a few furs with them for such luxuries as tobacco and corn. The Iroquoians, for their part, peacefully cultivated the fields near their clusters of shedlike huts, and their men hunted and fished in the vicinity while the women harvested the crops, manufactured clay cooking vessels, and performed numerous other tasks incidental to a settled village life.

Even in the sixteenth century, long before any European had penetrated inland as far as Ontario, Breton, Basque, and Portuguese fishermen and fur traders had disturbed this adjustment. They had upset the native economy by introducing iron tools and weapons, and by creating an unlimited market for furs, particularly for beaver, which led to the denudation of the game in certain districts and to widespread movements of the native population for trade and hunting. Trade rivalries and encroachments on the hunting grounds of others then engendered intertribal warfare that was aggravated by the introduction of firearms; and the Iroquoians of the St. Lawrence Valley and southward became bitter foes of the Algonkians who surrounded them on three sides, and of their own brethren in Ontario. Differences in the social and political organization immediately asserted their influence. The well-integrated Iroquois tribes federated for mutual protection (creating the well-known Five, later Six, Nations), submitted to the rule of an elected council and to the discipline of military chiefs, and through their military valor and skillful diplomacy during the colonial wars won for themselves ample farming lands and a semiautonomous status when those wars ended. On the other hand, the nomadic Algonkians, who lacked any close tribal organization but wandered from one hunting and trapping ground to another in small, semileaderless bands, proved incapable of uniting or of exercising great influence in the conflict between the French and English for supremacy on this continent; and, being a negligible factor, they were pushed more and more to one side by the ever-increasing flood of whites.

Nevertheless, even these Algonkians encountered alleviating conditions such as were lacking to the Indians over the greater part of western Canada, who did not come into close contact with Europeans

until two centuries later. The earliest French settlers in eastern Canada were few in numbers, primitive in their manner of life, and cut off entirely from the Old World except for the visits of one or two ships each summer. Furthermore, the vast majority were men who combined their simple farming with fishing and hunting, or neglected farming altogether for a life in the woods similar to that of the Indians. Yet Canada was their permanent home, not merely a place of work and residence for a few years, after which they would return to Europe, as did so many employees of the great fur-trading companies who operated in the west and northwest a century or so later. Nothing was more natural, therefore, than that many of these early French settlers should marry Indian girls, especially girls who had been educated in the mission schools; and that the free traders who roamed the woods should take wives from the Indians who supplied them with furs. We must remember that in the seventeenth century, the period that witnessed the laying of the foundations of New France, Indians and whites were on a more nearly equal footing economically than they were a century later, when numerous industries such as milling, weaving, and iron-working established themselves in the Maritime Provinces and along the banks of the St. Lawrence. Hence intermarriage occurred quite freely, half-breeds experienced no disabilities of any kind, and both half-breeds and Indians received every encouragement to participate with the white settlers in building up a prosperous colony. How many actually merged with the whites we shall never know, but the proportion was not inconsiderable. Many, of course, found the drudgery of farm life too difficult and preferred to maintain their old hunting and trapping existence, which was indeed the only existence possible north of the St. Lawrence watershed; and it is they, or rather their descendants, who occupy most of the present-day Indian reserves in eastern Canada or roam over northern Ontario and northern Quebec. Yet even they were witnesses, and to a limited degree, participants in the slow rise of eastern Canada from a few settlements of primitive colonists to a great agricultural, industrial, and commercial area, and they were given ample time to adjust themselves to the changing conditions that unfolded themselves century after century.

It was otherwise on the great plains, whose inhabitants had to withstand the shock of two sudden revolutions, both brought about by whites directly or indirectly. We actually know very little about the life of these Indians prior to the first revolution, because the only explorer who visited them before that time was the youth Kelsey, and his account of his journey is extremely meager. In his day (1690), apparently the only true plains' dwellers were the Blackfoot and the Gros Ventres; for the other tribes that later disputed the area with them, the Sarcee, Assiniboine, Cree, and certain bands of Ojibwa,

clung to the forests at this time and made only brief incursions onto the treeless prairies. Kelsey found the Blackfoot wandering on foot in small bands that ceaselessly pursued the numberless herds of buffalo. He met them, however, in summer only, and whether or not they too retreated to the edge of the forests at the onset of winter is uncertain. Less than 50 years later they had obtained horses from a United States tribe to the southwest and a few guns from Hudson Bay. At the same time the neighboring Sarcee, Cree, and Assiniboine Indians had begun to press into their territory, and to demand a greater share of the buffalo hunting now that the mobility given by the horse and the effectiveness of the firearms had made hunting easier and more profitable. Rivalry in war and the chase then brought about internal reorganizations in all the tribes. Some of them graded their young men into semimilitary societies and adopted a circular form of encampment with the tent of the highest chief in the center. All alike elevated warfare to the level of a national sport, and instituted a regular system of rewards for the taking of scalps and the capture of guns or horses.

So it came about that the plains became one vast guerrilla zone in which men hunted and were hunted without cease. The dress, the customs, even the religion of the Indians reflected the change that had taken place, and under uniform geographic and economic conditions tended to become uniform also. Every tribe, for example, adopted the institution of the sun dance, and possessed its quota of precious medicine bundles, each with its individual ritual.

All this time, however, Europeans were slowly filtering into the prairies from the north, south, and east, and the indiscriminate massacre of the buffalo herds by both races was rapidly destroying the foundation of the Indians' economic life. By 1879 the great herds had ceased to exist and the old free hunting life suddenly collapsed. With almost no warning the starving Indians were confronted with their second revolution. Henceforth they had to confine their movements within narrow tracts of land set apart for them by disdainful white overlords, and to divert their energies from the exciting buffalo hunt, with its intervals of pleasant idleness, to the monotonous drudgery of farming and ranching, tasks which their forefathers would have regarded with contempt. We cannot wonder that most of the ex-warriors of the first generation lost heart at the abrupt transformation, and that for a period the population of the plains' Indians registered a decline.

Similar declines of population are not rare. On the contrary they have occurred in British Columbia, in parts of Africa, and throughout almost the whole of the South Seas; so commonly, in fact, during the last 200 years as to be almost the rule wherever uncivilized peoples have been suddenly confronted with European civilization. Not one

cause only is responsible for it, but a number of related causes. Changes in the economic activities and in diet have played their part; for example, our Mackenzie River Indians are now more or less permanently undernourished, as are many natives in other parts of the British Empire. Then, again, epidemics of previously unknown diseases have ravaged the native population in all parts of the world (measles, for instance, wiped out 40,000 Fijians in one year). Perhaps the most important factor, however, has been the failure of the natives to reorient their lives under European hegemony and to establish themselves on a secure economic basis that preserved both their dignity and their feeling of independence. The loss of their economic security and the degradation of their social status has destroyed their self-respect, robbed them of all aim and ambition in life, and lowered their morale to such an extent that they consent more or less consciously to the signing of their own death warrants. Very often the fault has lain not with the natives themselves, but with their European overlords; for only too commonly white governments have failed to realize their responsibilities toward their native subjects, and have allowed individual whites either to exploit them, as they exploited the Kanakas on the Queensland plantations, or to push them to one side as encumbrances, as happened to the Australian blacks.

One prairie tribe, the Blackfoot, suffered less from the economic shock and the ravages of diseases than the rest, for a reason we shall see presently; and, within the last 20 years, all the plains' peoples have shown signs of recovery and of a slow increase in population, even though the economic conditions on some reserves are still far from satisfactory. A recovery of this kind is not uncommon either; it is occurring today, for example, among the Eskimo, and among the Maoris of New Zealand. And just as many causes operated, often in conjunction, to produce the previous decline, so there seem to be many causes for the recovery. In the Tropics, climate undoubtedly exerts an important influence, because Europeans cannot develop the Tropics without native labor, and a growing realization of their indispensability increases the natives' economic security and social independence. Both within and without the Tropics, again, natives whose economy was already based on agriculture have generally fared better than those who, like the Australian blacks and most of our Canadian Indians, supported themselves entirely by hunting and fishing; for the new regime, while greatly modifying their daily life, has not demanded a complete transformation. It is partly for this reason that in eastern Canada our agricultural Iroquoian tribes have prospered more than the previously nonagricultural Algonkian, even where the latter have been placed on reserves with equally fertile soil.

We can discern still another reason, however, for the greater pros-

perity of the Iroquoians, and particularly of the Five Nations. At the time of their greatest crisis, i. e., at the close of the colonial wars, they were organized into a more compact unit than the Algonkians, and they were led by men of courage and vision like Joseph Brant. The same factors account for the resilience of the Blackfoot. It was the able leadership and far-seeing wisdom of their chiefs, especially of Crowfoot, that braced them against the shock of confinement, encouraged them to direct their energies to the growing of wheat and the raising of cattle and horses, and maintained their morale at a high level while that of the other plains' tribes languished. These two examples from our Canadian Indians—examples that could be multiplied the world over, among civilized and uncivilized peoples alike—illustrate a truth that we often overlook, viz, that the strongest forces for the regeneration or upbuilding of peoples come from within their own ranks, not from without. Always the driving force is some seemingly high and noble ideal, but this ideal may lie dormant for years and even centuries (as did the longing for liberty in Finland and Poland) unless some great leader arises to give it voice and to carry the people with him. Every administration that deals with a native race, therefore, should aim, first of all, to inspire or foster in that race some desirable goal, and then to promote the evolution of native leaders who will command the confidence of their people and guide them toward that goal.

The steadfastness of the Blackfoot when they were first confined to reserves, and the progress they have made since in readjusting their lives, scarcely affected the other plains tribes, whose partial recovery in recent years must be attributed to their own vitality. As the older generation passes away and the traditions of war and buffalo hunting fade more and more from memory, the younger Indians in these tribes are gazing out on a new world. Occasional travel by rail, but especially by automobile, is helping to enlarge their outlook, and the hopelessness that gripped them when they were first banded on reserves is slowly passing away. They have noticed the economic distress of the white farmers on the prairies during the last decade, and they are realizing more and more each year that, however benevolent the government may be, however it may protect and safeguard them, in the last analysis their future and that of their children depends principally on their own personal efforts.

Our picture changes completely when we pass to the Pacific coast. There the climate is milder, the vegetation and fauna very different from those in other parts of Canada. Any inland tribes that pushed their way thither through the barrier of the Rocky Mountains found conditions so favorable that they never returned. Actually the main population drifts seem to have been from Alaska southward down the interior plateau or along the coast. The region was largely a cul-de-

sac whose inhabitants, though ignorant of agriculture, evolved an amazingly rich culture on the foundation of their local resources. These resources were themselves unusually rich. The sea and rivers yielded fish in astonishing abundance, wild fruits were plentiful, and the forests supplied magnificent timber that was easily worked with stone or bone tools.

At numerous places along the coast line, then, there stood in pre-European days villages of plank houses such as existed nowhere else in America. Some of these houses were of extraordinary size, and adorned with those enormous carved pillars that we now commonly call totem poles. The villagers themselves roughly separated into three grades, nobles, common people, and slaves, the latter either prisoners taken in raids on neighboring communities or the descendants of such prisoners. With abundance of food, particularly of salmon, life was rather easy, and the months of autumn and winter were devoted largely to entertainments, both secular and religious. The nobles, who acquired their status by inheritance, vied with each other in giving elaborate feasts or potlatches, and the ceremonies and rituals that accompanied these feasts stimulated the arts of weaving, painting, and wood carving, as well as music and the drama. In art and drama, indeed, the Pacific coast natives far surpassed all others in Canada; their unique wood carvings have attained a world-wide reputation.

A number of European vessels visited this British Columbia coast in the closing years of the eighteenth century, but colonization began only in the first quarter of the nineteenth, and then it was confined to a small district around Victoria. By the middle of the century, however, the tide of immigration was flowing in great strength, and already disrupting the economic and social life of the natives throughout the entire province. European disregard of all distinctions of rank, the abolition of slavery, and the introduction of new standards of wealth which the ex-slave could acquire more easily perhaps than his ex-master, destroyed every vestige of local authority in the villages, while at the same time the establishment of fishing canneries seriously interfered with their principal food supply. The mechanical age had just opened. Steamers were plying up and down the coast; lumber companies with snorting donkey engines and high-rigging tackle were invading the forests. With almost no preparation or warning Indians who had not yet fully emerged from the stone age found themselves caught in the maelstrom of modern industry and commerce.

The first result was a frenzied acceleration of native life. By hiring out their labor to Europeans, Indians who could never have hoped for social advancement in their communities were able to amass enough food, blankets, and other goods to hold great feasts or potlatches, to assume the rank and titles of nobility, and to extend their fame among all the neighboring villages. At the same time the introduction of

metal tools facilitated woodworking, and not only chiefs, but ex-co
moners and even ex-slaves began to build enormous houses, to set
lofty totem poles, and to wear at ceremonies elaborately carved wood
masks. Rivalry among the more prosperous Indians increased t
frequency and magnificence of the potlatches; men toiled and saved f
years merely for the glory of entertaining 3,000 or 4,000 guests f
7 or 8 days. Finally, in some districts, the old custom of giving aw
presents at these potlatches—which was really a primitive bankin
system, since the presents were redeemable—degenerated into reckl
squandering and even the wanton destruction of property. Naturall
this only increased still further the jealousy and strife, besides threa
ening widespread destitution. Accordingly, the government inte
vened and strictly prohibited all potlatches, including under that ter
every ceremony, religious or secular, at which the giving of presen
had been customary. The turmoil in the villages then died dow
but the measure was purely negative and had an unfortunate psych
logical effect. It destroyed the ambition of the natives by deprivin
them of their traditional means of social advancement without helpin
them to improve their economic and social position vis-à-vis the whi
population. Very few of them had successfully taken up farmin
The majority worked for the fishing canneries, where the men ha
now to compete with well-organized Japanese fishermen; or the
gathered fruit and hops, worked as dock hands in places like Vanco
ver, Victoria, and Nanaimo, or found employment in lumbering an
similar occupations, for the most part seasonal, that provided only t
barest subsistence. Civilization had burst upon them so suddenly th
they were bewildered and unable either to avoid its evils or to see an
grasp its opportunities. European diseases decimated their ranks an
the population dropped at an appalling rate. Some of the girls ma
ried white men, or, in rare cases, Chinese; here and there a man brok
away from his fellows and merged with the whites; but the great
number clung to their old settlements (which the government finall
converted into reserves), and watched with hopeless, uncomprehendin
eyes the growth of industry and commerce around them. Scatter
in tiny communities without any semblance of union, they could d
velop no leaders to guide them out of the morass. Their regener
tion seems possible only from outside stimulus and leadership, such
is now meeting with success in Bella Bella and a few other villages.

It is interesting to notice that Japan, on the opposite side of th
Pacific, was caught in the same maelstrom as our Pacific coast Indian
and at precisely the same time. Japan, however, was a densely popu
lated nation with an ancient civilization grounded on the intensiv
cultivation of the soil. She possessed the tradition at least of unity
her political freedom was unimpaired, and her ruling nobles were ab
to pool their efforts and work out their country's salvation on a defini

plan. Our Indians, on the contrary, numbered only two or three score thousand individuals scattered through dozens of politically independent hamlets, and speaking half a dozen mutually unintelligible languages. Politically, they were incapable of uniting and presenting a common front, even if they could have found a leader. Moreover, they were fishermen and hunters who had never tilled the soil until the early Europeans taught them to grow a few potatoes. Hence when the fishing companies monopolized the runs of salmon, which had been their staff of life, each little community had to make its own adjustment and either change its mode of existence entirely or disappear.

If the Pacific coast with its abundance of fish was an extremely favorable area for human habitation, and indeed, before the coming of Europeans, the most populous region in Canada outside of southern Ontario, where the cultivation of corn permitted a greater concentration of population, the basins of the Mackenzie and Yukon Rivers, like northern Ontario and northern Quebec, were very unfavorable. The rigorous climate prohibited agriculture, even had it been known. Fish, while comparatively plentiful in the lakes and rivers, did not run in large shoals, like the salmon of the Pacific coast, and their capture involved extreme hardship during 6 months of the year. The real mainstay of the Indians was the caribou, which supplied not only food, but clothing and coverings for the tent; but in the forested areas the caribou roamed singly, not in great herds like the species on the barren lands, so that the Indians had to wander about in groups of two or three families, that feasted when the chase and fishing were successful and starved when they failed. Life thus alternated between plenty and starvation. The weaklings perished on the trail, since there was no fixed home where they could find shelter, or stable food supply that could tide them over a critical period. Few social amenities lightened the unending drudgery and hardships. It was a region of poverty, material and spiritual. Nevertheless, it enjoyed one blessing. It was a fairly peaceful region, because one area was scarcely preferable to another and the tribes had no inducement to encroach on each other's territories.

The advent of the fur traders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries destroyed this peace without relieving the prevailing poverty. The two tribes that bordered the fur posts on Hudson Bay, the Cree and the Chipewyan, tried to monopolize for themselves all the benefits of this trade. Equipped with guns, the Chipewyan reduced their neighbors, the Yellowknives and the Dogribs, to a state of serfdom, while the Cree pushed westward, drove out the Indians who inhabited the upper waters of the Mackenzie River and took over the territory for themselves. Turmoil and strife prevailed through the entire region until a terrible epidemic of smallpox toward the end of the eighteenth century carried off nearly half its inhabitants. Even then the tribal

enmities that had been engendered persisted, and occasioned more than one massacre in the first half of the nineteenth century. Peace has now prevailed for 100 years, missionary and tradings posts are scattered over the whole area, water and air transport are opening it up as a tourist playground, and the mineral wealth in its rocks is being exploited more and more with each passing year. Yet the Indians have failed to make any appreciable progress. Hunting (including trapping) and fishing still remain almost their sole means of subsistence, and the returns from these occupations are decreasing rather than increasing. It is true that the murderous blood feud has long been suppressed, that infanticide and the abandonment of the aged and infirm have ceased, and that there are now very few deaths from outright starvation. Nevertheless their standard of living is so low that the majority are permanently undernourished. This makes them ready victims of every sickness, particularly of tuberculosis, and, combined with the hardships of a hunting life, produces a very high mortality.

Now it is quite probable that these northern Indians have always been undernourished to some extent, and that it was partly undernourishment that made them less virile than other Indians, as their early history seems to indicate. It would explain also why, generally speaking, they have shown no resourcefulness in meeting the changed economic conditions of the last 100 years, or any desire to adapt themselves to their new environment. They are good canoemen and packers, tasks that they have performed for centuries; but in all occupations connected with industry and commerce they have shown themselves hitherto inefficient and unreliable. Their numbers are declining; both their economic condition and their morale are at a low ebb. Their regeneration is an exceedingly difficult task, hinging very largely on the economic resources of the territory (which are still imperfectly known), and on the development of these resources by the white man. The Indians are themselves one of the resources, for they are a fixture in the territory; they cannot, like white men who enter it, pull up their stakes and return south if the living becomes unprofitable. The chief problem therefore is to restore their morale, and to raise their standard of living by providing remunerative employment for which they will show some aptitude. And this will tax the wisdom of the most far-sighted government.

The Arctic coast of Canada was a realm of its own, and its inhabitants, the Eskimo, differed from all the other aborigines of America in language, appearance, mode of life, and—what is less often stressed, though it has tremendous influence on a people's survival—in temperament.

There is no need to describe Eskimo life—how it rested solely on fishing and hunting, particularly the hunting of sea mammals, and

how it varied in different parts of the Arctic, and at different seasons of the year. Inevitably it involved great hardships, and the mortality everywhere was very high. In the Canadian Arctic especially the population density was extremely low owing to the comparative scarcity of sea mammals; long stretches of coast line carried no inhabitants at all. The total number of Eskimo-speaking people today, from the shores of eastern Siberia to Greenland, is only about 38,000; and there is no evidence that it ever exceeded that figure.

It was in Greenland that Europeans first discovered the Eskimo, at the end of the sixteenth century, if we leave out of account the early Norsemen, whose colonies were *spurlos versenkt*. During the next few decades these Greenland Eskimo, like those of Canada and Alaska later, were demoralized by the crews of whaling ships and decimated by European-brought diseases. In the eighteenth century, however, Denmark insulated the country by making all trade a government monopoly and began to administer it on the principle of "Greenland for the Greenlanders." Eskimo became the official language throughout the island, and its inhabitants were granted in time a considerable measure of self-government. During the last hundred years the population has steadily increased until now it exceeds 17,000. Intermarriage with whites takes place quite freely, and most of the present-day Greenlanders carry in their veins a greater or less percentage of Danish blood.

Whaling ships did not frequent Hudson Bay and North Alaska in any numbers until the second half of the nineteenth century. There too they left a diminished population, one that had become equipped with rifles and metal tools. Nevertheless, they did not greatly disturb the daily routine of Eskimo life as it had existed for centuries. The fur traders who succeeded them, however, exerted a more permanent influence. Instead of hunting seals on the ice close to shore during the months of winter the Eskimo now trap foxes, and their diet at that season has changed in some regions from 100 percent meat and meat broth to 60 percent and even 70 percent flour and tea. Their clothing, too, has altered. Originally made entirely from caribou fur except the outer footgear, which was of sealskin, it now consists partly of woolen and cotton garments; and under the conditions that prevail in the Arctic these garments are seldom washed, and sometimes not even removed until they rot. Inadequate diet and unhygienic clothing are thus impairing the physique of the Eskimo in many places, even though there are fewer deaths from outright famine. Whether their numbers are still declining along the more northern coasts is unknown, since there has never been even an approximately accurate census until the last 10 years.

In Canada, as in Alaska, the authorities have made no attempt to isolate the Eskimo. Subject to certain regulations, Arctic Canada is

open to all and trade is free, though the Hudson's Bay Company enjoys a virtual monopoly over a large area. No educational facilities exist apart from the rudimentary teaching of English in a few missions. In Alaska there are regular day schools in all the larger Eskimo centers; they too employ English as the medium of instruction. In the Greenland educational system both day and high schools employ the Eskimo language, though the teaching of Danish is now compulsory.

In dealing with her Eskimo population, therefore, Canada, like the United States, has followed an open-door policy that implicitly aims at rapid assimilation, whereas Denmark has adopted a policy of segregation and tutelage similar in many respects to Canada's policy with her Indians. The merits of the two systems have been widely disputed, not in reference to the Eskimo only, but in reference to many native populations the world over, even the colored population of the United States. In the South Seas, where Europeans have definitely rejected segregation, the Maoris are increasing in numbers and merging tranquilly with the whites, whereas in Tahiti and other islands their Polynesian brethren are rapidly declining. The Japanese have segregated the Ainu, Britain has insulated the Nagas of Assam, Belgium its pygmies in the Congo, South Africa its Bushmen and some of its Bantus; and Australia is considering the segregation of its blacks.

Now it is clear that segregation does not in all cases carry the same aim. No one expects, under the tutelage which segregation permits, that the pygmies of Central Africa, the Bushmen of South Africa, or the Australian blacks, will advance to such an extent that they can some day stand on their own feet in competition with other peoples. Segregation in their cases is dictated by considerations of humanity only, the same considerations that lead us to build old men's homes for the indigent poor. These natives are comparatively few in numbers, they are incapable, we believe, of making any important contribution to the progress of man upon this earth, and if they should become extinct within a few generations or centuries the world will presumably be none the poorer. Whether they are doomed to disappear quickly or to remain in tutelage for as long as we can foresee, our moral sense compels us to make their lives no less comfortable and happy than our own.

Not humane considerations only, but economic ones also inspire the segregation of certain Bantu tribes and of the Nagas of Assam. The numbers of these peoples run into millions, and they inhabit large areas of fertile tropical land that the white man, even if he tries to colonize, cannot develop without native labor. Hence he must either protect the local inhabitants and train them to develop their territories themselves (in the beginning, at least, under his hegemony), or he must permit their dispossession by Hindu, Chinese, and other peoples who are also adapted physiologically for a tropical life.

In the cases of segregation just noted there is no intention, explicit or implicit, to encourage any merging of the protected races with their protectors, because white people, particularly those of Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic stocks, have strong prejudices against intermarriage with colored peoples. (Japan, we may notice in passing, likewise discourages the intermarriage of her nationals with the Ainu). But when Denmark insulated the Eskimo of Greenland, and the United States and Canada placed their Indians on reserves, not only did they aim to raise the Greenlanders and the Indians up to the white man's cultural level, but they looked forward quite frankly to ultimate amalgamation. There was no color bar to prevent this amalgamation, no prejudices other than the economic and cultural. The natives were expected to mingle with the whites on equal terms as soon as they reached maturity and gradually to merge their blood. Hence the insulation or segregation of these peoples is merely a temporary expedient equivalent to the placing of orphan children in training institutions; it is a very different measure from the segregation of the Bantu and Bushmen tribes in Africa, or of the blacks in Australia.

It would be wrong to suppose that this segregation or insulation of the Indians and Eskimo aimed at eliminating every trace of their old cultures and blotting out their languages. Both peoples have already enriched our civilization in many ways, and may conceivably enrich it still further. In educating them to play a part in the economic and cultural activities of the modern world we desire to eliminate only such features of their former life as definitely hinder their progress and render them less adaptable. Accordingly, in Greenland, Denmark has promoted the use of the Eskimo language and the hunting of seals in kayaks; but she has also enforced the study of the Danish language and culture, has developed fishing into a large-scale industry, and, wherever possible, fostered new activities such as the breeding of sheep and goats to raise the economic level.

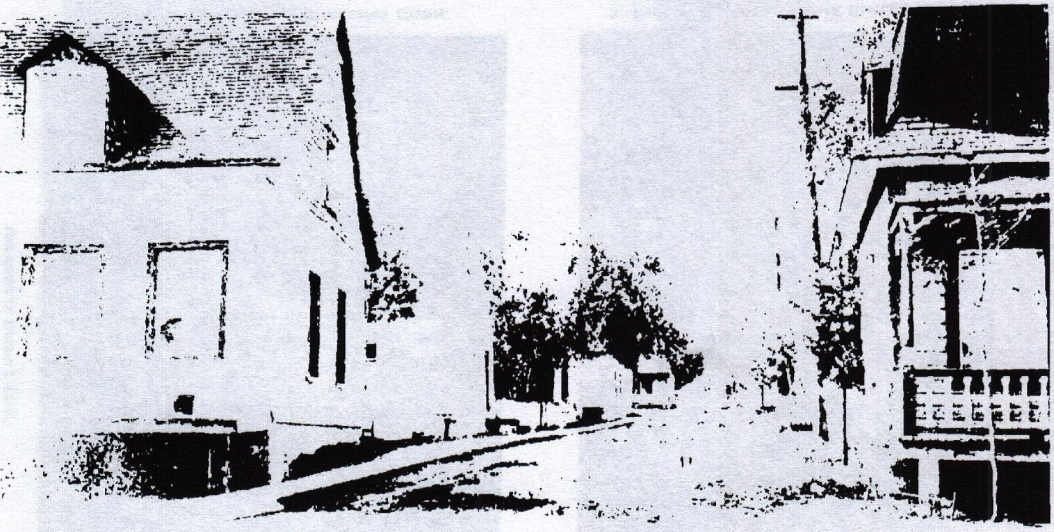
Canada's administration of her Eskimo has the same ultimate aim as the Danish, even though from geographical reasons it necessarily follows a different course. Greenland is an island that until recently was accessible only by sea during a few months of the year, and it lacks any large deposits of minerals except some relatively unimportant cryolite beds. Only its sealing had any attraction for foreigners, and that was located largely off the uninhabited northeast coast. In closing the country to foreign traffic, therefore, Denmark ran no risk of international complications, and in closing it to her own people she aroused no internal dissension, because it was not a field for colonization or for any enterprise that looked for profits. Whether it has been closed long enough, and whether the Greenlanders, now admittedly more European than Eskimo, can successfully administer their own affairs, is a

question that is being keenly disputed in Denmark. We may leave it to that country's decision and contrast the Canadian Arctic.

The Eskimo population of Canada has always been much smaller than that of Greenland (it numbers today, including Labrador, only about 6,500); and it is distributed over many times the length of coast line, so that the settlements are farther apart and more isolated. Moreover this coast line (even Baffin Island) is an integral part of the mainland of America, accessible both by land and by sea. The highly mineralized pre-Cambrian zone touches it in several places, and each year air transport brings the most remote areas into closer touch with the centers of civilization farther south. Today the region between Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes is experiencing a mining boom; next year it may be the hunting grounds of the Eskimo between Great Bear Lake and the Arctic Ocean. No administration, therefore, could possibly insulate the Canadian Eskimo from the outside world unless it concentrated them into one area, e.g., the northern archipelago or the region round the Magnetic Pole; and in that narrow space most of them would perish from starvation, so limited are the food resources. Moreover, no one can foresee the future of aviation. It is quite possible that within the next 20 years airplanes will be flying on regular schedules between Europe and America over the Canadian Arctic, and that the region will be dotted with emergency landing stations.

Insulation or segregation of the Canadian Eskimo is therefore impossible. They must sink or swim in civilization's tide, with no period of tutelage to equip them for the struggle, and with only such protection as an open-door policy will permit. Even their language will disappear before many generations, because their settlements have little or no contact with one another, but trade almost exclusively with white men who only rarely understand their tongue. To preserve its identity and its language in the face of outside pressure a people requires the cohesion given by population mass, and this the Canadian Eskimo definitely lack.

Nevertheless, the temperament of the Eskimo is the strongest guarantee of their survival, though not as a separate people. Whether because or in spite of their difficult environment, they have developed through the ages a most unusual cheerfulness and resourcefulness that have already withstood the shock of European impact and will carry them through the adjustment period. Their temperament will facilitate their intermarriage with Europeans and leave its mark on their descendants, so that in years to come the American Arctic, no less than Greenland, will be inhabited by hardy frontiersmen carrying in their veins a strain of Eskimo blood, but speaking a European language.



1. AN INDIAN WOMAN SHELLING CORN.

2. INDIAN COWBOY IN THE CHILCOTIN DISTRICT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.
Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.

1. VILLAGE OF MASSETT, QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS, BRITISH COLUMBIA, IN 1879.
Photograph by G. M. Dawson.

2. VILLAGE OF MASSETT, QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS, BRITISH COLUMBIA, IN 1919.
Photograph by Harlan I. Smith.

1 A DANISH TRAPPER WITH HIS ESKIMO WIFE AND FAMILY.

2. CROWFOOT, CHIEF OF THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS WHEN THEY WERE CONFINED TO RESERVES, AND HIS FAMILY.